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532 124 There was far more carving in the remote Tehycuá. An old man who was no longer fit for hard work lived there and spent his days with carving and plaiting baskets. The wooden figure of Fig. 2 came from him. He generally attached religious ideas to his carvings and therefore executed them with care and interest and adorned them with the attributes ascribed to the idol concerned.

Thus, Fig. 2 represents the god Curusú-Ñheengatú, who is to be discussed later. It therefore wears the feather crown, a feather belt, and a necklace of small hollow bones, and has a cross burned on the chest. This image of a god with its ornamentation clearly testifies to the artistic skill of the portrayer. It was all the more valuable because it was produced spontaneously, and I was able to acquire it only with difficulty and a great deal of persuasive art.

532 197 In this connection I should like to call attention to the article by Holtje (8), who reports on a drawing by the Caiuás

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8. Cf. Holtje, Staden-Jahrbuch /Staden Yearbook/, p. 50 and p. 61, São Paulo, 1953/54. Hans Staden Institut.

and correctly points out how our culture is influencing even the artistic representation, and, to be sure, in the sense of its becoming cruder. I experienced an example of this. Anyone looking at Fig. 2 and another figure of the same god by a young man living in Cerrito will note the difference. The figure from Cerrito shows only a poorly carved head on a column-like /221/ /Pl. I appears here/ /222/ /Plate II appears here/ /223/ /Plate III appears here/ trunk without arms and legs and without any engraving. A feather crown is loosely set on the head, other ornamentation is lacking. -- Animal figures and dolls, such as are shown on Plate I, were, and sometimes still are, made as toys. Older children model for themselves animal figures out of wax, which show the same style as the carvings. -- The artfully shaped clay pipes for smoking, such as the Caingué in

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852 155 This in part explains the fact that there is almost no Guaraní childish culture. There are few games that are not reduced to an imitation of the adults' activities. The Mbyá boy already at the age of three begins to practice the handling of the bow and arrow (1):

• 524 411 1. /The notes for Ch. V appear on p. 84 in the original source./ Some bows and arrows of childish type, acquired among the Mbyá of Rio Branco and given to the Cadeira de Psicologia Educacional /Chair of Educational Psychology/ (Universidad de São Paulo), are half as long as the weapons of the adults, being made of the same material. The bows, of biscoveer cut, are strung with embira and adorned with plaiting of mbopará type (taquara /a very strong cane/ and imbé) in traditional patterns; the arrows, with points of monkey bone (kãiguasú) or of brejaúba, the black wood out of which the arrow of the adults is also made, are not provided with barbs, but display the common feathering. -- In the coastal villages, these childish weapons underwent a functional change, no longer being made today for the training of the new generation, but for commerce: many purchasers (tourists) preferring them because of the greater ease of transport.

[178] [439]

857 155 he also constructs his little traps of bamboo /Port. jiraus/ early. Among the Mbyá of Palmeirinha, I saw children play at being hunter and game, the game finally caught in the noose. The Mbyá of Rio Branco have adopted a game of cards, biaca /a game of cards played in Portugal/: men and small boys take part in it indiscriminately.

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524 155 Among the rare games that do not reproduce adult activities there can be mentioned simple swings of guaimbé fastened in a U shape to some horizontal branch (abáka of Xikó). But even in this respect acculturation makes itself felt: the child -- perhaps attracted by the ideal that Western civilization represents, in part consciously, in part unconsciously, for the Guaraní -- begins to become interested in the games that symbolize technical progress and movement, like our city child. In the village of Rio Branco a boy makes a little airplane with the help of a taquara propeller, a cigarette package (body of the airplane), and the wax of wild bees. Another uses a calender sheet as propeller. At Arandú a Tenetéra boy builds a little truck, using a rough piece of wood and two empty spools of thread. -- These examples show that the Guaraní child [156] is already using his own inventive spirit for the satisfaction of play activities formerly nonexistent in the traditional culture, activities that constitute innovation in the sense of representing not simply a reflection of the culture of the adults, but civilizatory elements whose significance stems from an acculturative ideal.

861 155 159 [828] The extraordinary respect for personality and individual will, from the most tender childhood, makes the educative process, in the sense of repression, practically impossible. In the opinion of the Guaraní the tendencies of the child are nothing more than manifestations of its innate nature. A kiñá of Xapecó used to make straw cigarettes for his two-year-old son, who, in his opinion, had been born "addicted." If on the one hand, such a form of treatment favors attitudes of boldness, independence, and autonomy in the child's personality, on the other hand it seems probable that it also accounts, at least in part, for the excessive extravagance tied to a sentimentalism that in the eyes of the occidental would be classified as morbid. In /88/ childhood the Guaraní does not learn, so to speak, to control himself and to go against his inclinations and his temperament as an adult, he is constantly complaining about everything. And as the notion of repentance is almost inconceivable to him, he always tends to look for the cause of his sufferings in someone else and never in himself. It is clear that such a form of personality

/Ti name/

adults, how long there been participating in all the collective prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be said to be the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

The number of the Guarani child's toys pertaining to the old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Nandéva of Dourados I observed a distinction made with native terms, which the former called mangá and the latter xinxipí. At Jaguarí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay cup/, with a cavaquinho string; the only denomination they gave the object was tangará, which seems to indicate that they received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of "machine" or gaita /not italicized in the original/, likewise played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name of bullet; since they had no machine, the children used cucumbers fruits (pepinos).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation 868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more 177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar /Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with estranja /typical of the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that a father will buy for his six or /7?/ seven-year-old son a cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter 869 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies and participating in them, but also because these prayers are often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva of Rancho, where, as among the kaingáng, I also saw little children a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the 87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new 177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations. Particularly the Nandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction, stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

3: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 S344 Guarani S844

The Caingud of Paraguay inter the corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Secondary interment is reported for the Mbyá chiefs. A dead person's name is taken.

As among the Tupinambá, children and members of the community were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifestations of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Aokly unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern Caingud, was an honored practice among the ancient Guaraní. Its ritual seems to have been the same as among the Tupinambá (p. 119). The prisoner was well treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the Tupinambá, the Guaraní prisoner pulled his executioner with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people. Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 31), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ARTISTIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Decorative art among the Caingud is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

Games and toys.—Small children show certain skill at modeling men or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

The ancient Tupí, i.e., the Guaraní north of the Aga River, played